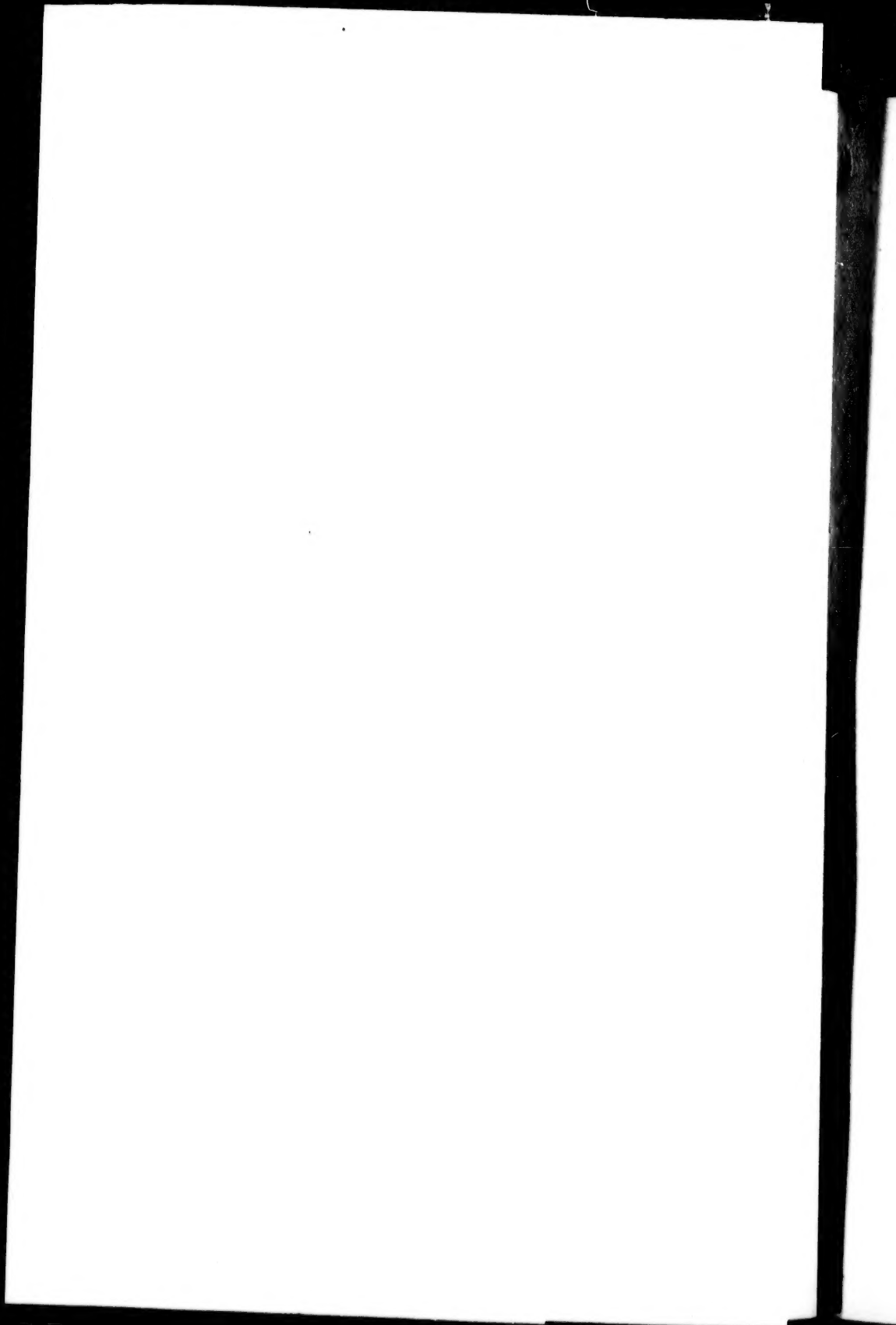




Shelburne

A SECOND
L E T T E R
TO THE
People of *England*.
ON
FOREIGN SUBSIDIES,
SUBSIDIARY ARMIES,
AND
Their Consequences to this NATION.

Quo ruis? inquit.

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis

Tempus eget.

VIRG. *ÆNEID*.

L O N D O N:

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M D C C L V.

(Price One Shilling.)

ERRATA in Letter II.

PAGE 18, Line 18, for *paternal*, read
patriot.

Page 36, Line 15, for *Continent*, read
Continental.

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A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
People of *ENGLAND*.

L E T T E R II.

IN all Governments constituted like this of which you have the good Fortune to be born Members, where the Legislative Power is the Peoples Right, and the Executive belongs to the King, indeed, wherever it is of the mixed Kind, it is impossible from the changeable Nature of all human Institutions, but the Balance which ought to be preserved between the Prince and the Subject must be destroyed, and the Scale preponderate sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other.

B

How-

HOWEVER upright and able Men may be in planning a Form of Government, such is the fluctuating State of all human Things, that no opulent Nations can long proceed in the right Way, without frequently returning to the first Principles on which they were established.

IT becomes, therefore, the indispensable Duty of every Subject, who sees the Weight increasing in one Scale, to point out the Evil immediately, lest it grow too great to be removed without causing more Struggle, Tumult, Bloodshed, and Desolation, than even bad Men (one would imagine) can wish to see in their native Land.

WHOEVER therefore shall have Fortitude enough to expose the pernicious Designs of a wicked M-----r, and his more profligate Adherents, notwithstanding their Attempts to blast his Endeavours with the poisonous Appellation of Faction, or even of Jacobitism, must ever be esteemed, by all good Men, as the Lover of his Country, and Friend to Mankind.

DESPOTISM on one Hand, and Anarchy on the other, are the Consequences to be dreaded from a King's or Peoples Power increased beyond the due Proportion ; one half of either side of that vast and solid Arch which sustains a whole Nation, being weakened by undermining, the Whole which it supported, without sudden Help, tumbles into everlasting Ruin.

IF the despotic Inclinations of *Charles I.* were grievous to Men who were born the lawful Heirs of Liberty, was the Anarchy that succeeded less terrible ?

BOTH Extremes then being proved by the Histories of those Times to be alike fatal to the King and Subject, all possible Care should be taken to prevent such Evils ; and early too, before the heated Ambition of a few Men shall dare to plunge the Nation into the Abyss of Confusion and Distress, by Attempts to fix themselves in absolute Power.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Revolution may be justly denominated the *Æra* of establishing *English* Liberty on a rational Plan of

Government, yet the Consequences of Men's Pursuit of Power may be such, that the Equilibrium which was then settled may be lost, and the Scale incline too much on one side; when this shall happen, *England*, to preserve its Liberties, should again attempt to vindicate the Advantages of her happy Constitution.

WHOEVER therefore shall dare to assert that an *Englishman* has no Right to oppose the exorbitant Power of a Prince upon the Throne, is an Advocate for passive Obedience, and an Enemy to the Revolution.

IN like manner, if it be lawful to oppose the despotic Designs of a Sovereign, who may be taking gigantic Strides to subvert the Laws, change the established Religion, and set up an arbitrary Power on its Ruins; it must be just to resist every other Part of our Constitution, which may invade the Rights and Privileges of their Fellow-Subjects.

THE Commons of *England* are the Representatives of the People; Five hundred Men are intrusted with the Liberties, Properties, and Privileges of Millions.

IF

IF this Number, elected for the Public Good, instead of supporting the Honour and Prerogatives of the Crown, protecting their Constituents, and the People, shall at any time be rendering the Sovereign dependant on his M-----r, fleecing the Millions to enrich the Hundreds, and betraying their Countrymen to iniquitous and ministerial Views, can the People of this Land, the Millions, the Men of Property and Understanding, still Lovers of their Country, be condemned for opposing such pernicious Proceedings, or I, your Fellow-Subject, for knocking at your Breast, and awakening those Hearts within which sleep supinely inattentive to their Country's Danger ?

It has been lately propagated, with no small Industry, that the P-----t, as a Legislative Body, has a Right to make what Laws it pleases ; and that our Representatives, once elected, are accountable to no one for their Proceedings. Nothing can be a more fatal Insinuation to the Ear of an *Englishman* than this, if it should find Acceptance amongst Mankind.

MAN,

IF

MAN, from the very Nature of his Being, can never be supposed to delegate a Right to his Representative, contrary to his own Welfare and Felicity, much less a whole Nation to its own Destruction. *Nequid Detrimenti capiat Respublica*, is the Condition of his being chosen and appointed. It is therefore an Absurdity to imagine, that Men can delegate a Power of injuring themselves, to those who are elected for the universal Welfare: Ye are Inheritors of the Constitution of this Realm from your Fathers, and are bound, by all the Ties of Nature and Justice, to deliver it intire to your Sons; many of whom being yet unborn, or too young to bequeath Power to the Representatives of the Nation, cannot justly, by their Predecessors, be deprived of the most valuable of all Inheritance, their Liberty.

To chuse Men as national Representatives and Protectors of the Public Good, and then suppose they have a Right to act contrary to the Interest of their Constituents, is to imagine, that Physicians, chosen to superintend and cure the Sick in Hospitals,
have

have a Right to kill their Patients, if they please.

COMMON Humanity, and the Sensation of all honest Hearts, fly in the Face of such Assertion ; and yet some insidious or informing Emissary, is eternally advancing such Absurdities, in Favour of a M——r, in Opposition to the Glory of that K—— he pretends to revere, and the Good of that People he affects to love.

Is not a Parliament, by Nature and the Constitution established, equally obliged with the Prince upon the Throne, not to violate or exceed the Measures, which tend to the Public Welfare ? Is it not therefore a heinous Insult on the common Understanding of this Nation, to assert, that six Millions of People, many of superior Sense, Family, and Property, to those who represent them, have impowered their Guardians to squander their Possessions, convert the public Revenue to private Uses, and general Destruction ; and bind, in ministerial Fetters, the Hands of those Men whose Freedom they are elected to preserve ?

Is it not from the Nature of our Constitution that a P—— exists? Can it be imagined then, that a Part, dependant on the Whole, can have a Right to destroy that very Being from which it derives its Existence? Ought not that Nation therefore, which, unremonstrating, permits her Servants to assassinate her, or runs on that Sword which she has given into the Hands of others for her Protection, though she does not stab herself, to be deemed equally guilty of Suicide, with Men who commit that unnatural Act? and, like those Self-Destroyers, will it not be ignominiously buried in Rubbish and the Highway?

To assert the contrary of this self-evident Truth, is but to change the Face of Despotism; will not the absolute Power which was so justly complained of, and so righteously opposed, in Kings before the Revolution, be thus transferred from them to the P——? In this other View, Tyranny has only changed the Place of her Abode: Is the Sultan less despotic at his Summer Scraglio than at *Constantinople*? Do his Subjects
enjoy

enjoy more Liberty by his residing at one Place than another.

WHAT Power amongst Men can be more arbitrary than that which can bind your Hands in Chains, by Laws which it enacts, according to its arbitrary Inclination, and levies what Money it pleases on your Properties, unexamined, unproved, and uncontrolled? And this, it may be, for the private Advantage of a Majority of those, who constitute this Power to your Improvement.

THAT P—— then, which, inattentive to its Charge, and unjust to the Confidence reposed in them by their Fellow-Countrymen, shall proceed diametrically opposite to your Welfare, must, in the Eye of Reason, be conceived as acting arbitrarily and illegally, and violating the Constitution by which it exists.

IT is the common Custom of all those, who presume to defend the present Ad——n, to ask, in Opposition to those who complain of the Mal-Conduct of public Affairs, whether

C

ther we are not governed by Laws legally instituted ?

To which, I answer, by asking, If any Law can be said to be legally instituted, which may be enacted by Men chosen contrary to Law, and exceeding the Design of their Institution ? If Bribery and Corruption, influencing the Elections of the national Representatives of this Kingdom, are absolutely contrary to the established Laws of this Realm ; can then the Member, who is chosen by Means of corrupt Influence and Perjury, in direct Opposition to the Legislature, be legally endowed with the Power of making Laws ?

If this Question be answered in the Affirmative, tell me then the Difference between the Ideas, which attend the Words Legal and Illegal ? Will not this fatal Absurdity be the Consequence of such an Answer, that if one Set of Men, illegally chosen, shall ever presume to enact Laws, that all others have an equal Right to it ? What Reason can be assigned, why one Part of this Nation shall be excluded from an Authority of doing whatever is done by another,

another, which has no legal Right to Superiority of Power ?

NAY, will Disobedience to Laws, made by Men who have been elected contrary to the established Rules of the *English* Constitution, be a greater Breach of the Legislative Power, than that which these Legislators committed in procuring their Elections ?

THE criminal Means of procuring Seats in P——, though they may never be openly proved against the Transgressors, are they for that Reason the less *true* in the impartial Eye of Justice ? And who, from the Post-Boy that guides a Post-Chaise on the Road, to him that misguides his K— and Country in the Ad——n, is ignorant of this Truth, that Seats in P——t have been obtained by Bribery and Corruption ?

Is it not the Commission of the Action, and not the Conviction of the Judge and Jury, which constitutes the Crime in all who dare to violate the Laws of their Country ?

LET us, however, through pure Indulgence to the Dissolute, suppose the greatest of all Contradictions, that Men, illegally chosen, are yet lawfully authorized to constitute and appoint Laws for the good Government of a Kingdom; does it thence follow, that they are endowed with Authority to make Acts diametrically opposite to the Public Welfare? Can the three Letters, which compose the Word LAW, change the Nature of Right and Wrong? Will Robbery, Adultery, or Murder, enacted by a P-----, transmute the Nature of these Crimes? Will they not, in Opposition to ten Million Acts of a Legislature, instituted in their Favour, remain as cruel and detestable as before to every humane Bosom?

IF an Act is once passed the House of C——, does it thence follow, that it must be absolutely complied with without Complaint or Remonstrance, especially if it contain Conditions destructive to all that is valuable amongst Men? Are the Laws of *England*, like those of the *Medes* and *Persians*, to remain unalterable because they are made?

THROUGH

THROUGH this thin Argument the Fallacy manifestly appears; or, it must be granted, that *Englishmen*, of all the People of *Europe*, are particularly doomed to Slavery. How can the effeminate Dastards of the East more effectually express the abject State of their Existence, than by tamely complying with whatever is ordained them?

IT is the unmanly yielding to this ignominious Imposition, which confirms the Condition of Slavery, and not the Source from whence it proceeds: The Acts of an *E*——*b* *P*——*t*, whenever they shall be arbitrary, and the despotic Mandates of a *Persian* Sophi, are equally tyrannical, though the first may seem to be the Voice of a Majority of more than Five hundred, and the latter of one Man.

I SAY *seem*, because it may easily happen, that a *M*——*r* may dictate as despotically as a Sophi, and the Voice of more than three hundred *M*——*s* be no more than the Reverberation of as many Echoes, from a Place formed with the Power of multiplying one Sound equal to that Number.

LAWs

LAWs may become the most tyrannical of all Oppression, even more to be dreaded than the Despotism of Kings, for which Reason, every good Representative of the People will with Pleasure receive whatever can be offered for or against them by his Fellow-Subjects.

KINGS, when they invade the Liberties of their Subjects, are soon discovered; the Breach is visible, the Inroad felt, and the People soon alarmed, and on their Guard to oppose it; the Object and the Design are open to their Senses: But Laws, enacted under the Sanction of deliberate Debate, and digested maturely by Men selected to defend the Public Weal, bear the Appearance of being instituted with Justice, and according to the original Design of our happy Constitution.

THINGS conducted in this Manner wear no open Face of Injustice, no external Mark of arbitrary Power; the People, deluded and deceived by the Glare of this specious Varnish, unaccustomed to examine Things to the

the Bottom, believe these Acts are just, because they are made by those, whose Duty it is to enact no other than the Laws of Truth and Justice.

I IMAGINE then it will be allowed me, that Laws which violate the Constitution, create Inequality in the Course of distributive Justice, pillage the many to enrich the few, alter the primary Dispositions of human Nature, sacrifice the public Good to private Emoluments, and *English* Property to Foreign Interest, are such Laws, as even a P—— legally chosen, can hardly have an Authority to enact.

If ever then a P—— should be unconstitutionally elected, and carry such Laws into Execution, will not this be a double Breach of the established Constitution of E——d? What will such Men offer to their Constituents in Favour of themselves; or how will that M——r defend himself, who, though perhaps, without the Subtilty of the Serpent, may, like that Reptile, transfuse his Poison through a House of C——s,

C——s, to the Ruin of his native Land, as it was through the Mother of all, to that of human Race ?

LAWS, in a Free State, are the standing Defence of the People ; by these alone they ought to be judged, and none enacted but such as are impartially conceived ; the Peer should possess no Privilege destructive to the Commoner ; the Layman obtain no Favour which is denied the Priest ; nor the Necessitous excluded from the Justice which is granted to the Wealthy : Unless these Things are truly preserved, the Laws, which should defend the Peoples Property, are, like the Body-Guards of a King corrupted, the more to be dreaded, because the Liberties of the first, as the Life of the latter, are more immediately in their Hands.

WHEN *Charles I.* presumed to levy Taxes on his Subjects without their Consent, this Design was not opposed by them because it proceeded from the King, but because it was contrary to the Constitution, and illegal : In like manner, whenever a P-----t shall enact Laws destructive of the Public Good, such
Pro-

Proceedings will be equally contrary to the Constitution, and if such Transactions in a King are justly denominated Tyranny, tell me by what Name I shall distinguish similar Designs, if ever they are found in a House of C—— ?

IF opposing the arbitrary Efforts of a Sovereign, were Acts of the most heroic Nature, and most laudable Design, if passive Obedience to a crowned Head be the Height of Slavery, learn from thence, that Opposition to illegal Proceedings in K— or C——, is equally praise-worthy and virtuous: Without behaving in this manner, it must be granted, that Resistance to the Kings of old was personal Pique, and not patriot Justice; Resentment against the individual Man, and not a Vindication of your just Rights. Thus you see that Tyranny is the same, from whatever Source it springs; and the Arguments and Truth which justified our Forefathers in opposing the arbitrary Proceedings of one Head, though surrounded with a Diadem, will support you in the same Behaviour against any Hydra-headed Minister, or Hundred-handed *Briareus*, which may attempt to scale the Heaven of your Constitution.

I HAVE said thus much to show you, as clearly as I could, what appears to me to be the true Power of P——t: To do Good they have, and ought to have, unlimited Power; but their Power to do Evil surely ought to be under some Restraint: Whether they have a Power to institute Laws to the Ruin of their Country? is a Question that never can arise; it can only be, Whether the Laws proposed are in themselves pernicious or beneficial?

WHOEVER then shall endeavour to set in a clear Light the Utility or Destruction which may follow from a Law before it is enacted, will undoubtedly be considered with a favourable Eye; and though his Counsel be but a Mite added to the Whole, the Goodwill and paternal Love with which it is offered, will render it not unacceptable to the highest Wisdom.

IT may not be amiss then to examine the Effects which a Subsidiary Army may have on this Kingdom, if a War should be begun on the Continent: To set in a clear Light the Advantages or Disadvantages which

it may produce to this Country, and from History and past Transactions infer what may result from the Supporting such a military Force with the Revenues of *England*.

PERHAPS there are few Things which can come before the Mind of a M——r, that require more Deliberation and Prudence, than that of hiring Subsidiary Troops for the Protection or Service of that Kingdom which he superintends, or more replete with Danger to the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, or even to the Crown itself.

EVERY righteous Statesman, in all his national Proceedings, cannot but intend promoting the Public Welfare: His Plans for the Public Good will justify his Intention, however adverse the Event of them may prove, and free him from all injurious Imputation in the Sight of his Countrymen.

YET though it should be allowed that the best conceived Designs may prove abortive in the Execution of them, it must be granted also, that in directing a State there is for ever inseparably connected with good Sense, an Advantage which cannot be found in company with Folly.

A M——r then of weak Intellects can expect nothing but Chance to assist him in his insufficient Schemes, and I fear that Union has too seldom prevailed, to found a national Expectation that the Vagaries of Chance and Folly shall succeed against Reason and good Conduct, in the Management of a Nation's Welfare.

WHENEVER then a M——r shall entertain the Design of taking an Army of Subsidiary Troops into a Nation's Pay, it behoves the Subjects of that Kingdom, who have yet their Liberties to preserve, and Properties to lose, to be extremely circumspect in relation to the Consequences which such an Undertaking may produce, particularly if a Suspicion of wicked Design may be imagined to be blended with Weakness in the same Head ; a Union not uncommon amongst Men exalted to the highest Stations, however fatal it may prove to the public Weal.

I BELIEVE it may be justly ascertained a Maxim in Politics, That no Nation which can defend itself, and effectually annoy its Enemy, should ever retain mercenary Troops for these Purposes.

To

To support this Idea, there seems to be many Reasons not easily controverted.

FIRST, The Money with which the Aid of a mercenary Army is purchased, must be a Diminution of the Wealth of that Kingdom which pays them, and therefore detrimental, as it lessens the pecuniary Strength of the People.

SECONDLY, All mercenary Soldiers must for ever be deficient in that animating Spirit, which the Love of their Country infuses through the Soul of every Native. This inspiring Impulse, which Money cannot impart, carries Men on to Conquest, through Contempt of Danger and of Death. To this the great Deeds of all Nations have been chiefly owing, not amongst *Greeks* and *Romans* only, but even amongst the wild *Arabs*, who fought underneath the Standard of *Mabomet*, the *Dalcarlian* Savages under *Gustavus* the *Swede*, or *Englishmen* at the Fields of *Cressy* and *Agincourt*, in the Days of Conquest, under the Command of our *Edward* and *Henry*.

THIRDLY,

THIRDLY, Men whose Hearts are actuated to Battle by venal Views and Purchase, are justly suspected to be within the Reach of pecuniary Corruption ; that Prince, and that Army which Money bribes to your Assistance, will probably be bought to desert you by a greater Sum : This Consideration ought to efface all Confidence in mercenary Armies.

FOURTHLY, A hireling Army once victorious, perceiving the People, who invited them to their Assistance, unequal to the Task of defending themselves, and resisting their Force, will, in all Probability, set up for themselves, and become their Masters ; as did our Ancestors the *Saxons*, who, solicited by the *Britons*, to assist them in repelling the Invasion of the *Scots* and *Picts*, remained in this Isle, and became Lords of the very Kingdoms they came to protect.

OR lastly, a M——r who fears he shall one Day feel the Resentment of a Nation justly enraged against him for sinister Management, may retain these Hirelings in his Service, to subdue with more Certainty, and less Danger, that People, which, though he
has

has deprived them of Arms, he has not yet forgot to fear.

THESE Considerations then must necessarily operate strongly against taking mercenary Troops into the Pay of any Nation, in the Minds of all Men who wish well to their native Land, and have no pernicious Designs on the Liberties of their Fellow-Subjects, and the Constitution of the Realm.

LET us now suppose that a War should be declared between *France* and this Kingdom, and then examine whether *England* is reduced to the abject State of fearing her Enemies, more than the mercenary Men she may hire to support her Interest and Honour against the military Force of *France*.

THE first Consideration which offers itself in favour of this Nation is, that no foreign Power can attack it without being obliged to cross the Sea for that Purpose.

THE Uncertainty and Danger of that Element, which has more than once preserved us from hostile Invasion, is an Advantage of no small Account in our Favour against a Descent from *France*: *Afflavit Deus & dissipabantur,*

pabantur, was the pious Acknowledgement of the best of *Queens* for her Success against the *Spanish* Armada.

HOWEVER, without reckoning Storms amongst our Advantages, if we suppose that in all Attempts of an Invasion a Fleet is necessary to convoy and protect the Enemy in their Passage, and cover them in their Descent, and that a superior naval Force has the Power to intercept and destroy it, in what manner are we to form our Opinion in this Light?

LET us then compare the Fleets of the two Nations, and thence infer what are the probable Consequences of such an Attempt by the *French*.

THE Navy of *England* consists in about two hundred and fifty Men of War, exclusive of Bomb-Ketches, Fire-Ships, and armed Sloops, in all more than three hundred; the last named being at least equally useful in frustrating such Attempts, as Ships of the Line of Battle.

THE

THE whole Navy of *France*, at the highest Computation, is not equal to one hundred.

THUS then, as far as can be inferred from the Nature of Naval Armaments, and the Utility which can be drawn from them, no Reason can be offered to induce a thinking Man that one hundred *French* Ships of War are a Power which can oppose treble that Number of *English*. Consequently on the Side of the Marine, there cannot be the least Reason to suspect a Necessity for hiring a mercenary Force, to prevent an Invasion from the Armies of the *French* King.

BUT I freely own, my Confidence in Armies is much stronger than in Fleets, and that a Descent on this Realm, divided from the Continent by so narrow a Channel, so suddenly passed with a favourable Wind, secreted by the Darknes of the Night, is too practicable an Undertaking, and may be accomplished in Spite of all naval Opposition.

LET us then examine, in Case an Attempt of that Kind should succeed, how we are provided to repel a Visit of that Nature, when our Enemies being landed, are beyond the Reach of being destroyed by naval Powers.

THE Inhabitants of *England*, exclusive of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, are generally computed at the lowest Account to be about six Millions: Those who have examined, and calculated, with the greatest Accuracy, the Numbers and Age of a People, have laid it down as a certain Truth, that a fifth Part of the Whole, including those from sixteen to sixty, are able to bear Arms.

THUS then *England* alone can furnish One Million Two hundred thousand Soldiers in her Defence; and, by adding the four Million Inhabitants of *Ireland* and *Scotland* to the Account, the Sum amounts to Two Million of Men, able to oppose the Descent of our Enemies. Of this Number, without Doubt, more than One hundred thousand near *London*, may be summoned together in a few Hours, where Arms and all military
Accou-

Accoutrements are preserved in the *Tower*, for emergent Occasions ; and in a few Days, a like Number may be collected in any other Part of this Kingdom, before much national Injury can be perpetrated by the Enemy.

WHAT Force then, allowing the Armies of the *French* King to be ever so numerous, can be embarked and landed with any Prospect of Success, against so formidable a Power as Two Millions of Men, able and willing to bear Arms in their King and Country's Defence ?

IT is ridiculous to offer a Reason in Vindication of this Truth, the Absurdity glares through the thin Disguise, and is visible to the weakest Understanding. Thus then the natural Powers of *England*, securing us beyond all Suspicion of Danger, to what honest Purpose can Mercenaries be hired, to defend this Nation from the Attacks and Invasions of a foreign Enemy.

THIS then is the natural Strength and State of our Powers and Defence ; but alas, like brute Matter, it lies inert and unex-

erted! Amazing beyond all Credibility! Two Millions of Men, able and willing to bear Arms in Defence of their King and Country, are treated by the M——r, as Lunatics by Physicians, furrounded with that Waistcoat which deprives them of all bodily Exertion, Twenty thousand only are invested with the Powers of our Defence, instructed in the Art of War and Use of military Weapons, dispersed from the *Orades* to *Minorca*, whilst the Millions look on and lament their abject Condition, deprived of assisting themselves and Country.

THIS View of our Situation then, sets Things in a new Light, and creates very naturally these Questions; From what Motive does this Behaviour proceed in the M----r? And then this other, Whether *England* being so circumstanced, should seek the Aid of foreign Hirelings by pecuniary Powers, or put Arms into the Hands of her own Natives, who stand ready to receive them, and defend her?

WHETHER the Lives, Liberties, Properties, and Constitution of this Kingdom, shall be intrusted to those, whom every
Motive,

Motive, external and internal, honourable and interesting, must urge to their own Defence, unattended with any possible Disadvantage to this Nation, or to the hireling Hands of foreign Mercenaries, against whose being employed in such an Action, there subsist almost as many Arguments, as against suffering the Island to be invaded and overcome by an Enemy? Can these Questions need an Examination or Answer?

PERHAPS some Man, of more Turbulence than Judgment, the humble but violent Retailer of M——l Falshood, may treat this long Disquisition as the lunatic Scroll of a *Bedlamite*, (who, having created a Devil of his own, with a burnt Skewer on the Wall of his Cell, is tilting at it as if it were the very foul Fiend itself): And may assert, that the *French* will neither attempt a Descent, nor the M——y bring into this Isle foreign Subsidiaries to defend us.

To which it is easily answered, by asking, Will a M——r, of common Understanding and Patriot Intentions, trust the Security of this Kingdom to the good Inclination of his Enemy? If he does, and a
Descent

Descent should prove successful, with what Powers will he repel them? Will a Multitude of Men unaccustomed to Obedience, Discipline, and Arms, like the Teeth of the Dragon, sown by *Cadmus*, start up, and become Soldiers in an Instant at his Command?

HIRELINGS, the base Defence of foreign Mercenaries, must they be called in to your Assistance? *Hessians* and *Dutch*, *Germans*, *Hanoverians*, and *Russians*! Must these be brought to assist the once brave *English*, in repelling the Foes of their native Land?—Abject, degenerate Thought! And yet, if an Invasion be made from *France*, what stronger Reason have you to hinder them from being sent for at this Time, than during the last War, when *Dutchmen* and *Hessians*, to the eternal Infamy of *England*, were landed in this Isle, to protect you against a Rabble of rebellious *Highlanders*, yourselves disarmed, and incapable of Defence? Where then is the Absurdity, of supposing an Enemy should attempt an Invasion against so small an Opposition as the Troops of *England*? or that a

M----r,

M——r, who has already applied for foreign Aid, should again recur to the same Expedient of mercenary Assistance?

THUS then the Reasons against your being armed, lie only in the M——r's Breast, and are relative to him alone; his Designs may possibly controvert the Public Good; and those Mercenaries which will destroy your Liberties, may coincide with his Schemes: Is he not then the Torpor, which benumbs your natural Faculties of War and Resistance? the Source from whence innumerable Calamities will flow to this once happy, free, and martial Kingdom? Thus then your Weakness consists only in your Want of being intrusted with those Arms, which are purchased by your Contributions, and in your Strength being with-held from your Hands by the arbitrary Will of a M-----r.

BUT as it may probably be urged, that *England* and its Defence are not the sole Object of having recourse to Subsidiary Troops, let us examine what is.

THE *Balance of Power*, that fascinating destructive Sound, so much in use since the Revolution, so productive of Wars, even more ridiculous than Crusades and combating *Saracens* for recovering the holy Sepulchre, demands the Attention of this Realm; or, this political Equipoise being once destroyed, *England* must perish, alike with all the Powers of *Germany*, and *France* be possessed of universal Monarchy: No Chimera can be more visionary than this Idea of fearing universal Empire, and balancing the States of *Europe*. Will *Germany* conspire against its own Interest, to give *France* the first? Is not this Balance, notwithstanding the Number of Troops and Sums of Money which each State can raise, eternally shifting from Realm to Realm, according to the Understanding and Integrity of Ministers, and Kings who preside and rule them?

THIS Balance, so glorious in Idea, and fatal in its Effects, which was held by the Hands of our gracious Queen *Ann*, has since been taken from this Land, and is now possessed by the King of *Prussia*, by dint of superior Intellect.

LET

LET us however accede to this Proposition, that the Balance of Power is an Object worthy the Attention of this Nation, as our M——y chuses to inculcate to our Belief.

UNDER the Sanction of this Concession, Are the Arms of *France* a more reasonable Object of dread to this Island than to the Princes of *Germany*? Is our Danger, divided as we are from our Enemy by the Sea, with Powers sufficient to resist all Attacks, greater than that of these Princes, whose Dominions are hourly open to hostile Inroad and Rapine by the first March of the *French* Army? What Claim have they, or what Pretext can be urged to induce this People at any Time to hire the Troops of these very Princes to defend their own Territories? Shall

<i>Hanoverians</i>	—	—	16000
<i>Saxons</i>	—	—	12000
<i>Hessians</i>	—	—	12000
<i>Saxe Gothians</i>	—	—	6000
<i>Bavarians</i>	—	—	8000
<i>Wolfenbutlers</i>	—	—	5000
<i>Darmstadians</i>	—	—	4000
<i>Piedmontese</i>	—	—	30000
<i>Russians</i>	—	—	73000

In all — 166000

F

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be hired as Mercenaries by the Revenues of *England* to defend their own Territories? Not reckoning in this Account the Subsidies which have, and ever must be paid to the *Austrians*, when we have engaged to fight their Battles, and sustain their Interest, at the Perdition of our own.

CAST an Eye on the Map of *Europe*, and remark on what Dominions an Invasion is most probable to fall, if *France* comes to an open Rupture with this Kingdom, and our *German* Allies; and whose more immediate Care it is to arm and defend themselves.

BUT alas! such is our Situation, that no Success, however great, can bring us Advantage; a Conquest influences little more than a Defeat in our favour.

Is there a Truth more self-evident in *Euclid*, than that Nations cannot be long purchased against their own Interest (*England* excepted) but this, that nothing is so ridiculous as attempting to buy them to it: Will *German* Princes long prefer *French* Interest to their own, or neglect to oppose it, if you withdraw your Subsidies? How absurd must be the Head of that M——r who can cherish such
 Concep-

Conceptions, and act in consequence of them?
 What intuitive Knowledge in the Actions of
 Men must he be blessed withal?

BUT it may be offered in defence of hiring these Mercenaries, that their Masters Inability to defend themselves, makes it necessary that *England* should protect them. Is there in Nature a Reason which ought to induce a Nation to its own Ruin, in defence of others who are reaping Advantage by our Undoing?

IN Truth, no Assertion is so false as the above: In what manner did these States exist before the Revolution without your Assistance? Have they not the same Means at present? It is the Weakness of our M——y, and fatal Attachments to *German* Interests; the Sums of Money which they have gained, and we uselessly squandered, that turn the Eyes of all these Princes on you. This creates the War, and disunites the *Germanic* Body; otherwise, the Interest of all *Germany*, and the Constitution of the Empire, would unite all *Germany* against the common Enemy; but your interfering, and their pecuniary Ideas and mercenary Passions, foment the

Division: Would the King of *Prussia*, and the other States who are inactive, see the *German* Interests defeated, if you did not espouse the Quarrel? But as our M——y behave, his View is extent of Territory, by becoming necessary in the Broil, whilst other *German* Potentates humanely traffic the Lives of their Subjects for the Price of your Gold; the only Manufacture and Commerce which their Countries produce.

THUS then, conscious of the Imbecility of our M——r, they reap the plenteous Harvest of his busy Folly, and thus his preposterous Conduct begins, foment, and fosters a Continent War.

BUT lest what has been said should appear like the enthusiastic Fervour of patriot Love impetuously urged in favour of my Country, let us examine the Sentiments of our Forefathers, the Remarks of ancient Wisdom on the Consequences of being united with the States and Interests of the Continent, and then observe what has been the Effects in our own.

THOSE Times, when the Kings of *England* had vast Possessions in *France*, will furnish

nish us with many an Observation applicable to the present.

It was then the Opinion of those Men, most celebrated for patriot Love and the clearest Judgment, that the Territories of our Kings in *France* were by no Means to be defended at the Expence of *English* Treasure; they justly distinguished the Dominions of an *English* King from those of *England*, and separated the foreign Interests of an infatuated Monarch from those of his Subjects in this Island; and in Consequence of this, they virtuously and strenuously opposed the squandering *English* Treasure, in Protection of Dominions, in no Sense connected with the Welfare of this Kingdom.

THE Earls of *Hertford*, *Bobun*, and *Bigot*, began their Commotions through the Distaste which *Edward* I. gave them, by demanding their Service in the Quarrel of *Gascoigny*; and in denying to defend or recover foreign Provinces independent of *England*, though subject to the King, they had great Reason, since so many Consents of Parliament justify their Refusal.

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IN the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Richard II*, the sixth and the ninth of *Henry IV*, the first and seventh of *Henry V*, it is affirmed, the Commons of *England* are not bound, *pour supporter les guerres en la terre de France ou Normandie* ; that is, to support the King's Wars either in *France* or *Normandy* ; publicly declaring this, and publicly refusing Assistance.

IN the Reign of King *John*, the Bishop of *Durham* was killed by the People, who determined to oppose a Tax for supporting the King's Wars in *France* : The King himself was detested also by the Citizens of *London* for his grievous Taxations on the same Account. Hence followed the Wars between him and his Barons.

IN the Reign of *Henry III*, there was another Contention between the Kings and Barons on the like Reason.

EDWARD I. was refused Money by his Subjects, to defend his Territories in *France* against the *French*.

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EDWARD III. was also denied Contribution by his Subjects, to carry on the Wars against the *French*; and one of the Articles of Treason against *Mortimer*, was the Offence he bred in the Commonwealth, by causing a Subsidy to be exacted from the Subjects on that Account.

THE Poll-Money imposed by Parliament in the Reign of *Richard II.*, to defray the Expence of the Wars in *France*, was the Cause of bitter Imprecations against the King, which were followed by an Insurrection of the Commons: And in the Reign of this King, as well as in others of those who preceeded and succeeded him, the Parliament was so tender in granting Subsidies, and raising Taxes for foreign Wars, that they added to the Act, *Quod non trabatur in Consequentiam*, that it should be no Precedent to Futurity for levying Taxes; at the same Time appointing peculiar Treasurers of their own, to give them Account upon Oath the next Parliament.

INNUMERABLE Instances of this Nature may be drawn from the History of our
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Ancestors, and evident Proof inferred, that the Commons of *England* considered this Attachment of their Sovereigns to their Dominions on the Continent, as the great Cause of their Miseries and Distress, and frequently refused to indulge their Kings in the Ambition and Folly of enlarging and protecting their Possessions, to the Ruin and Poverty of themselves and their Constituents.

So certainly true is it, that Poverty of *England* has ever been the Attendant of our engaging in War on the Continent, I believe it may be proved, that the People of this Nation have owed their Increase in Riches to the single Circumstance of being once detached from Continental Possessions.

TILL the Beginning of *Elizabeth's* Reign, whatever had been gained by the Natives of this Island in Commerce, had been again wasted in Defence of foreign Dominions; but from the Reign of this illustrious Woman, whose Memory must be for ever dear to all *Englishmen*, for the Blessings she spread upon her People, to the last Day of that infatuated Bigot, *James II*, *England* only

as a Nation has grown rich ; all Increase of Wealth since that Time being Paper-Possessions, which, like the Leaves of the Sybil, scattered to and fro by m——l Winds, too plainly pronounce the impending Fate of this Kingdom.

FROM this fatal *Æra*, the m——l Destroyers of their Country recurred to the same Means, which had formerly been the Ruin and Waste of *English* Blood and Treasure ; the unspeakable Disadvantage which this Nation had suffered, from their Sovereigns being possessed of Dominions in *France*, returned with double Fury : *Holland* and *Germany* were yoked to this Nation ; the last, like an enormous Wen fixed to a beautiful Body, has grown luxuriant, by draining the vital Juices which should have been distributed through this Realm, and emaciated its natural Strength, Beauty, and Vigour.

SINCE the Attachments of M——rs to the *Germanic* Interest, during the Wars of *William* and *Anne*, and in our Times, we have thrown Three hundred Millions of *English* Money into the Scale of that *Balance of*

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Power

Power in Germany, which has never inclined, nor ever will preponderate on our Side, whilst we have a Shilling more to add to it. Such immense Sums of Money have been ineffectually wasted in sustaining this visionary Equilibrium of Power in *Europe*; Four-score Millions of which, we free-born *Englishmen*, and our Posterity, are this Day mortgaged to pay for *German Advantages*.

THUS it is evidently demonstrable, that national Poverty has been the inseparable Companion of being again attached to Continental Interests; for, I believe, no Man will assert, that a Nation, which has not more Money in it at this Time, than at the Day of *James the Second's* Abdication, with a Debt of Fourscore Millions added to it, can be as wealthy as it was at that Period. Is the Value of Fourscore Millions, in uncoined Gold and Silver, and other Merchandise, to be found in this Kingdom, beyond what it possessed at that Time? As much then as this Nation is deficient in the Possession of that Sum, so much is it poorer than it was at that Period: I speak not of imaginary Paper-Wealth, got by the Iniquity of M——rs and their Favourites, to
which

which nothing real answers but your Taxes and Calamities.

THUS then ancient and modern Observation demonstrate, that our Attachments to Territories, which, though belonging to our Kings, were independent of *England*, have ever been the Cause of Poverty and Distress; and our Welfare and Happiness prevailed only, when we were unconcerned in Continental Wars and Interests. Can it then be imagined, that what has ever been pernicious, will now change its Nature, and become beneficial? Will not the same Ruin, the same Increase of Debts, and Waste of national Treasure, be the fatal Consequence of all future Engagements to support foreign Dominions in *Europe*, as it has of all past? As all Acquisition of Territory in that Part of the World would be but Increase of Misfortunes, and every Conquest be attended with farther Ruin to this Isle.

LET me now lay before you some Estimate of what may be the annual Expence, if ever a Design of Hiring that long List of mercenary Blood-Suckers, from *Germany* and other Parts, should take Place; in

which, though the Calculation does not pretend to Exactness, it is yet, I believe, rather under than above the just Computation : When we consider the enormous Sum of Money which was levied the last Year of the last War, and the great Navy-Debt which was then left undischarged. Let us then examine, whether *England* can support that Expendence.

THE Pay of the *Russian* Troops alone, according to the Proportion of former Subsidies, will be half a Million of Money ; the remaining Troops of all *Germany* (exclusive of *Austrians*) and *Piedmontese*, cannot be estimated at less than double that Sum : Thus in Subsidy alone, One Million and a half will be annually expended. The Hire which must be paid the *Austrians* ; Money to put all these Troops in Motion, according to late Practice ; supporting the whole Army, whenever they leave their own Countries, to be assembled on the *Rhine* or in *Flanders*, will double that Sum, at least, and increase it to Three Millions. For Experience has shewn us, that whatever Bargain we may make with necessitous Princes, to support their own Troops in the Field, that not-

notwithstanding this, it is the Gold of *England* which has ever supplied and furnished them with Subsistence during that Time ; this, besides the Expence of our own Troops in *Flanders*, which cannot be estimated at less than a Million more yearly ; will make the Sum of Four Millions of Money, which must annually pass the *English* Channel, like Ghosts over the *Stygian* Ferry, never more to revisit this Isle.

CAN *England* then, indebted Fourscore Millions, whose circulating Cash is not more than Fourteen, support a War on the Continent of *Europe*, which had almost proved her Ruin, when she did not owe one Shilling ? What Obligation can *German* Interests have on this Land, that she must exhaust her vital Powers to her own Ruin and their Advantage ?

I IMAGINE the most sanguine Friend to the present M——y can scarce entertain a more flattering Idea in favour of this Nation, when he considers who presides in the various Branches of the Ad——n, than that if we engage in *Flanders*, our Success will be equal to that of the great Duke of *Marlborough*.

AND yet even this Success, should we win every Battle, must lead us to inevitable Ruin. Can *England*, buried in Mountains of Debt, which, like *Pelion* upon *Offa*, have been heaped upon her, sustain the Expence of a War upon the Continent of *Europe*? Do we grow more vigorous by being exhausted? or will national Parsimony answer all the immense Demands of such a War? Where then shall this unhappy Nation find Money for foreign Mercenaries? The most rapid Success must even prove your Ruin, and the Nation be exhausted of all Resource before these ten Years Conquests can be half completed. Thus the Sound of every Victory must be received with aching Hearts, and our Generals in their triumphal Carrs be followed by People drowned in Floods of Sorrow for the Battles they have won.

IN the mean time, whilst you are sluicing forth your vital Treasure to protect *Germanic* Princes, how different is their Fate? they grow great by your Folly and Destruction, the Wealth which you lavish they receive by the Hire of their Armies, mercenary in their own Defence. These are the Friends and Al-

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lies of *England* ! Thus Conquest, any more than Defeat, cannot avert your Ruin, tho' the first may retard it a little while.

SHALL then this Kingdom be totally drained by grievous Subsidies, in support of foreign Princes Dominions, among whom there is One, whose untold Sums lie useless and untouched, even for the Protection of that State which is so dear to him.

BUT as painting the distressful Side of Nature, and our Situation, may be too displeasing to your Eyes, let us now point out to you the Way by which our Enemies must be humbled, and this Nation exalted.

WE have already proved that the *English* Fleet consists of treble the Number of that of *France* ; that *Englishmen* want nothing but being trusted with Arms, and instructed in the Use of them, to defend themselves from all Invasion ; and that the *German* Princes, undivided by the Hopes of our Money, and enlarging their Territories by our interfering, would unite in one common Cause against one common Enemy.

THESE being the true Circumstances of Things, our Fleet so superior, must drive
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the *French* Commerce from the Face of the Ocean, and enrich this Island, when Specie might again appear instead of Paper.

OUR Troops and Militia, confined to the Defence of this Kingdom, whatever Expence they might prove, would prevent the Money from escaping to our Ruin, and still be circulating amongst us.

THE *Germans*, being ever *Germans*, and not bought by our Treasure, would tread the direct Road to their own Security and Preservation.

THUS then nothing but m——l Wrong-headedness can prevent this Nation from growing great in Case of a War with *France*. This Kingdom, by the Acquisition of Wealth taken from that, will then be a Reservoir for our Supplies ; which very Treasure, if a War be begun in *Flanders*, will be no more than Waters running into the Head of a Pool, which immediately run out at the lower End, the Money we and the mercenary Army must spend in that Country, travelling very soon from the Hands of us to those of the *Netherland* Inhabitants, and thence speedily into
France,

France, as it happened too apparently last War.

THUS our Enemies get great Part of that Money which we squander to oppose them.

THEREFORE to make *England* truly great, this Isle, as she is by Nature, must stand unconnected with the Interests and Territories of *German* Princes and the Continent.

BUT there is yet a farther Consideration for our declining to engage in *German* Welfare, it is the Defence of his Majesty and his Subjects Possessions in *America*, the living Fountain of perpetual Wealth to this Kingdom, an Object worth all your Consideration; whatever is expended in the Defence of *English* Plantations, returns to *England* again.

SHALL we then raise Money to lavish on *German* Mercenaries for *German* Interests, and neglect our own Colonies? Shall that bastard and unnatural State, whose whole Revenue does not exceed the fourth Part of

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what you annually pay the Poor of this Nation, which has already cost so many Millions, continue to exhaust all your Wealth in her Defence and Service, and the legal Child of *England* be neglected and abandoned in her Distress? Shall a Hundred and sixty thousand Mercenaries wage War on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and in the Meadows of *Flanders* at your Expence, to defend what is not in its whole Value worth the Treasure which will be consumed in four Campaigns for its Protection?

THUS then these Things being clearly placed before your Eyes, does it not follow that Ruin must await you, if these mercenary Troops are hired in defence of you or *German* Interests? And may it not as justly be said when that Time arrives, as in those of *Tacitus*, *Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie poscit*; the *Britons* are every Day imploring to be Slaves, and adding Money to purchase that Infamy?

If hereafter some future Son of Ambition shall make the obtaining Subsidies for *German*

man Interests, the very Condition of his being a M——r, will you tamely bow your Necks to that Yoke; if some future P——t shall grant the Révenues of *England* for such Purposes, is there an *Englishman* who can look silently on and see his Constitution totally expiring, unremonstrating, and uncomplaining?

If ye should prove so fallen from the Spirit of your Ancestors, how despicable must you be regarded by the Eyes of all *Europe*? Shall *France* behold the proud insulting mercenary *German*, the hireling Defender of this Isle, stalking indignant and oppressive thro' your Lands and Cities, yourselves untrusting with Arms, doomed, like the Slaves of *Sparta*, to work for these foreign Soldiers?

If you shall ever become so despicable in the Opinion of m——l Men, your Souls deemed unequal to the Task of combating for your own Safety, what are ye then but heartless Cowards, a Race of soft, effeminate Dastards? Oh ignominious Thought! Oh abject *England*!

WILL you then be considered but as a People unfit for War, to Plow and Labour, to hew Wood and draw Water for those whose Souls are yet daring enough to meet an Enemy on the Field of Battle?

WHERE will then be fled that martial Spirit which animated the Souls of your great Ancestors at *Cressy*, *Poitiers*, and *Agincourt*? Is that *English* Valour which knew no Defeat beneath the Command of *Marlborough*, totally annihilated?

WILL ye then permit in silence these Foreigners to be bought to your Assistance? Will ye servilely surrender yourselves and Liberties into their Hands for Protection? Will ye be the Slaves of *German* Mercenaries?

YE filken Sons of Pleasure, rouse from your Lethargy; modestly represent to your Sovereign the Dangers of your Condition; urge your Representatives to procure you Arms, which become your Hands alone, for the protecting Him and your Country from Invasion.

vasion. Let your Navies prove that *France* can be humbled without mercenary Assistance. Or will ye permit the white Horse to trample down the Sons of *England* in Dust, Disgrace, and Ruin? Shall the *British* Lion be yoked to draw that Carr from which he is unharnessed, to wanton in the fattest Pastures?

IF even Yourselfes and Liberties should be no longer dear to you, will you behold your Progeny enslaved? Your Properties wasted in foreign Wars and *German* Interests? Will ye not then exert your native Powers, and shake off that lazy Inattention which is stolen upon you?

BE attentive, or irremediable Evils may steal imperceptibly upon you, like Death in old Age, when there no longer remains Vigour to combat the Attack; when exhausted, and driven by mercenary Bands, converted from being your Defenders to your Enslavers, you are excluded from the free Expatiating of Liberty, and your Constitution driven into a narrow Compass, as the *Britons* of old; and, treading on each other,
like

like wild Beasts in the *Eastern Nations*, surrounded with Toils, you tear each other to Pieces with Rage; or die tamely and supinely, expiring by the Darts, which are thrown by mercenary and M——l Hunters.

NOR is it for you alone, my Countrymen, my Breast feels the anxious Alarm; the Welfare of that illustrious House, which fills the Throne with so much Glory, thrills me with Apprehension for their Safety. What Behaviour can more probably wean the Hearts of Subjects from a Sovereign, than their being treated so ignominiously by his M——s? What Motive so apt to irritate their Minds, as beholding their Treasures exhausted to their Ruin, themselves considered as Cowards, unworthy to bear Arms in their own Defence, and contemptuously postponed to *German Mercenaries* by M—— Counsellors?

HISTORY too fatally informs us, that the *English* have been frequently driven to dangerous Extremes by Causes of less Moment :

ment: Let me therefore implore you, if it should ever be the abject Fate of *England* to become the Slave of *Germany*, urge not your Resentment beyond remonstrating, to your Representatives and Sovereign, your despicable Situation; with-hold your Hands from vindicating your own Rights; point your legal Designs alone against that M——r, who, betraying the Trust which is committed to him by his Master, may attempt to enslave you to foreign Hirelings, exhaust your Treasure by defending *German* Interests, and risk even the Stability of that Crown, which it is his Duty to sustain.

WILL ye, degenerate Men, behold *Britannia*, like *Prometheus* chained to a Rock, whilst the *German* Eagle is devouring her Vitals, and yield her no Assistance? Believe me, the Moment of that Catastrophe may not be at a great Distance. When it arrives I shall not fail to give you Warning of the Evil: That Message must either prove the Passing-Bell of your expiring Liberties and Nation's Glory, which, like Women, ye may follow to their Graves with Sighs and Tears unmanly; or, like the Sound of the last

last Trumpet, awaken to a Resurrection the
long-departed Spirit of defending yourselves,
your King, and Country.

*Virtu contra 'l furore,
Prendra l' arme & sia il combatter corto,
Che l' antico valore
Nell Inglese cuor non e ancor morto.*

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